18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

21: Thomas T•5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
932 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

21: Thomas T6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 576 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded. 562

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives (father or brother) descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision. 585 586 583 [782]

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day. 844

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword. 848 837 684 [628]

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342 [754] 782 342

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the cave and does not cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rubʿ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also unbearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered